1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a calabash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as another name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What markets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
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[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come
369] into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the
643 last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[192] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

[GEIDAM]

789 301 [531] Another area of religious behavior concerns the wearing of charms (laya). These are, typically, verses of the Koran, bound in decorated leather cases, strung on a thong, and worn on one's neck. They are written by a Malam, and are obtained for specific purposes: to protect the wearer against a variety of catastrophic events of natural origin (lightning, snake-bite, drowning), against injury from humans (knife wounds, gun shot), against gossip and evil eye, and to insure success and popularity. Some individuals wear great clusters of twenty or more different laya about their necks; others wear only one or two. It can be seen in Table XXV that all but two people in the sample own one or more laya. Though most people in the sample wear one or more laya constantly (columns 1 and 2), a number of individuals wear laya only in times of emergency--when they are [484] in dangerous surroundings. Dangers arise whenever one leaves one's own village or town, and they are greatest when one is traveling. Fourteen individuals state that they only wear laya 789 when they are traveling. The only group showing any differ- 301 ences in Table XXV are the Canteen Operators. Most of them 441 wear laya only when traveling. It is difficult to discern the significance of this aspect of their behavior but taken together with their strictness in other areas of religious behavior (fasting, drinking beer) it would seem to indeate that they place less reliance on the protection afforded by wearing Koranic charms 441 than do other groups. They nevertheless strictly observe the 78 standards of religious behavior in areas which can be seen by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 281]

571 The tools and household fixtures needed, include things like pots for water and cooking, calabashes and enamel ware dishes (often bought by the women from their own income, and made part of their own private property), leather water buckets and rope, hoes, axes, knives, spears and craft tools (if any are needed), mats, trunks, locks, and halters for horses and livestock. These are things which almost all Kanuri families own, and which depreciate, necessitating periodic expenditures for their replacement. Naturally, in larger households which use more water, sleep more people and produce more income, the [312] expenditures for tools and fixtures increases. Wealthy urban houses [354] have wells dug within the compound walls, making water easily accessible, while in Maiduguri, better class homes now have electric lights as part of the home fixtures.

372 511 In the rural areas, fuel is old millet stalks or wood, gathered in the bush or bought from woodcutters. In upper class homes where women are often secluded and grain is purchased, then lack of millet stalks and female labour require that fires be fed from purchased wood. [354] All houses in Bornu, except those few having electricity, need kerosene, sold by the bottle, or the filling for lamps.

49 Transportation is necessary for visiting, going to market, or moving permanently to a new town or city. Modes of transport include foot, donkey, horse, camel, motor lorry, and all are commonly used. However, today the lorry is the most generally utilized form of transport for any long distance travel, while horse, donkey, camel and foot [484] are still used extensively for shorter moves in the locality. Camel caravans still ply northward from Maiduguri to attend markets at Geidam and Nguru, one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles to the north-west. [492] At the local rural level, donkeys and horses are the most common means of transportation besides walking.

366 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and
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161 transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

443 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the
494 one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus
484 if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest
443 and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of
[203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics,
[273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale
[525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

443 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom
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[632] disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there